

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 05259 01 OF 02 151058Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----053785 151123Z /11

R 150951Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2543
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 5259

EXDIS

DEPT PASS USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GERMANY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINS, SW, UR, NO
SUBJECT: SWEDISH ACCOUNT OF KOSYGIN-NORDIC HELSINKI
CONFRONTATION

REFS: A) STOCKHOLM 5207, B) STOCKHOLM 5208

1. DURING EUR/NE DIRECTOR ROBERT FUNSETH'S CALLS AT MFA
ON DEC 13, HIGH-RANKING SWEDISH OFFICIAL WHO WAS PRESENT AT
THE MEETING OF NORDIC MINISTERS WITH KOSYGIN IN HELSINKI ON
DEC 6 PROVIDED US WITH DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE MEETING,
MAJOR POINTS OF WHICH FOLLOW.

2. ON DEC 5, KOSYGIN ASKED THROUGH SOVIET EMBASSY IN
HELSINKI FOR FINNISH FOREIGN MINISTER TO ARRANGE FOR NORDIC
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MINISTERS TO MEET WITH KOSYGIN NEXT DAY IN PRESIDENT'S PALACE.
(OUR SWEDISH SOURCE FELT THAT IT WAS SOVIET DEPUTY FOREIGN
MINISTER ZEMSKOV WHO INSTIGATED MEETING. SWEDES RE-
GARD ZEMSKOV AS HARD-LINER AND VERY DIFFICULT MAN TO
DEAL WITH, AND SUSPECT HIM OF BEING AT LEAST PARTLY
RESPONSIBLE FOR THE UNPLEASANTNESS OF THE ENCOUNTER.)
MEETING WAS HELD FROM 2100 TO 2230 IN SEMI-PUBLIC

ROOM AT PALACE, IN VIEW OF PHOTOGRAPHERS, BUT WITH BYSTANDERS KEPT OUT OF HEARING DISTANCE.

3. KOSYGIN BEGAN BY ASKING SWEDISH PRIMIN FALLDIN TO "CHAIR THE MEETING." (SWEDES SAID THIS WAS STRANGE ITSELF, IN FINNISH PALACE.) FALLDIN REPLIED THAT SINCE MEETING WAS ONLY FOR INFORMAL EXCHANGE OF OPINIONS, NO CHAIRMAN WAS NEEDED, AND KOSYGIN DID NOT ARGUE POINT.

4. DANISH DEPUTY FONMIN OSTERGAARD OPENED BY OFFERING TO DISCUSS CSCE MATTERS, NOTING DANISH POSITION THAT NEW CSCE REVIEW MEETING SHOULD BE HELD IN THREE YEARS. KOSYGIN'S IRRITABILITY BEGAN TO SHOW AT THIS POINT, OUR SOURCE SAID, AND HE REPLIED BLUNTLY THAT USSR SAW NO REASON FOR ANOTHER MEETING UNLESS VERY SPECIFIC AGENDA COULD BE DEVELOPED: MEETING FOR MEETING'S SAKE UNNECESSARY SINCE EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS "HAD MORE IMPORTANT THINGS TO DO."

5. KOSYGIN THEN SPOKE OF HOW MUCH USSR AND NORDIC COUNTRIES HAD IN COMMON. HE WENT ON THAT ALL WERE PEACE-LOVING COUNTRIES, BUT "NORWAY IS MORE MILITARISTIC THAN THE OTHER COUNTRIES." KOSYGIN THEN EXPRESSED SOVIET CONCERN OVER FRG TROOP PARTICIPATION IN NATO MANEUVERS IN NORWAY. HE NOTED THAT DENMARK WAS ALSO CONFIDENTIAL

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IN NATO. DANISH PRIMIN JORGENSEN REPLIED THAT IN BALTIC THERE WERE MANY MORE WARSAW PACT SHIP DEPLOYMENTS THAN NATO ONES, AND PACT PATTERN WAS TO GET CLOSER AND CLOSER TO DANISH COAST. JORGENSEN SAID KOSYGIN'S PICTURE OF NATO AS AGGRESSIVE FORCE DID NOT HOLD WATER. KOSYGIN, NOW QUITE IRRITATED, REPLIED THAT HE DID NOT KNOW WHICH SIDE HAD MORE UNITS IN BALTIC, AND HE WAS NOT GOING TO TRY TO COUNT VESSELS FROM HELSINKI.

6. KOSYGIN THEN GAVE A FAIRLY LONG RESUME OF SOVIET POSITIONS ON DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATIONS, INCLUDING CTB.

7. PRIMIN NORDLI OF NORWAY FINALLY GOT THE FLOOR TO REPLY, STATING THAT NOT SINCE VIKING TIMES HAD NORWAY BEEN THE BASE FOR MILITARY OPERATIONS AGAINST ANY OTHER COUNTRY. NORDLI GAVE BRIEF REVIEW OF NORWEGIAN NATO MEMBERSHIP AND ITS CONDITIONS, NOTING NORWEGIAN AND DANISH BASE AND NON-NUCLEAR POLICIES, ADDING THAT SWEDEN ALSO HAD NO NUCLEAR ARMS CAPACITY. KOSYGIN THEN SPOKE OUT SUDDENLY AND FORCEFULLY AND SAID, "I CANNOT UNDERSTAND HOW NORDLI CAN SPEAK FOR DENMARK AND SWEDEN." FINNISH PRIMIN SORSA TRIED TO SMOOTH

WATERS BY DIVERTING TALK TO POSSIBLE JOINT NORDIC-
SOVIET ECONOMIC VENTURES. KOSYGIN WOULD NOT BE
DETERRED AND BROUGHT UP NEUTRON BOMB, ASKING WHAT
NORWAY'S POSITION WAS ON THAT. NORWEGIAN FONMIN
FRYDENLUND SAID NORWAY WOULD PRESENT ITS POSITION ON
NEUTROM BOMB AT NATO IN BRUSSELS AND THEREFORE THEY
WERE NOT IN POSITION TO DESCRIBE DETAILS OF NORWEGIAN
POSITION TO KOSYGIN. VISIBLY UPSET AND IRRITATED,
KOSYGIN DEMANDED TO KNOW OF NORDLI WHY HE COULD NOT
GIVE OUT MORE DETAILS OF NORWAY'S POSITION ON THIS
"TERRIBLE WEAPON." JORGENSEN THEN INTERJECTED (IN
ENGLISH), "TAKE IT EASY, KOSYGIN." JORGENSEN ADDED HE
DID NOT FIND IT STRANGE THAT NORDLI COULD NOT GO INTO
DETAILS ON NEUTRON BOMB ISSUE, PARTICULARLY WHEN
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KOSYGIN COULD NOT GO INTO DETAILS ON BALTIC SEA
DEPLOYMENTS.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED ABOVE ADDRESSEE.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----053847 151130Z /10

R 150951Z DEC 77
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2544
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 STOCKHOLM 5259

EXDIS

DEPT PASS USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GERMANY

8. KOSYGIN THEN SPOKE OF USSR AS PEACE-LOVING COUNTRY WHICH HAD NEVER OCCUPIED ANY OTHER COUNTRY (SIC). HE ALLUDED TO SOVIET TROOPS' LIBERATING NORWAY FROM FASCISTS IN 1945 (SIC). NORDLI SAID NORWEGIAN PEOPLE GRATEFUL FOR SOVIET ROLE IN WWII.

9. FALLDIN THEN SAID THAT SWEDEN HAD NEVER PERCEIVED ANY THREAT FROM NORWAY OR FROM DENMARK, WHO WERE MEMBERS OF NATO, OR FROM FINLAND. KOSYGIN, AGAIN IRRITATED, ASKED WHY FALLDIN HAD EXCLUDED THE USSR. FALLDIN REPLIED THAT "NOT IN HIS WILDEST FANTASIES COULD HE IMAGINE THE USSR HAVING ANY REASON TO ATTACK SWEDEN." (END OF ACCOUNT.)

10. COMMENT. IN COMMENTING ON THIS MEETING, OUR CONFIDENTIAL

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SOURCE SAID KOSYGIN REVEALED NO NEW POSITIONS: WHAT WAS NEW WAS HIS CALLING A MEETING OF NORDIC MINISTERS AND "ACTING AS IF HE WERE IN EAST BERLIN OR WARSAW." OBVIOUSLY THE MEETING WAS PLANNED, OUR SOURCE SAID, SINCE THE SOVIETS REQUESTED IT A DAY AHEAD, AND CLEARLY KOSYGIN HAD HIS POSITIONS PREPARED IN ADVANCE, ALTHOUGH HE MIGHT WELL HAVE EXPRESSED THEM MORE VEHEMENTLY AND IRRITABLY THEN HAD BEEN INTENDED. REFERRING TO FONMIN SODER'S SPECULATION THAT KOSYGIN MAY HAVE BEEN IN A BAD MOOD BECAUSE HE HAD THEN TURNED AWAY FROM APPEARING WITH KEKKONEN ON THE BALCONY, OUR SOURCE SAID HE THOUGH THERE COULD BE SOMETHING TO THIS. HE NOTED THAT IT WAS KEKKONEN'S AIDE-DE-CAMP (A COLONEL WECKSHER, AS WE UNDERSTOOD IT) WHO DID THE TURNING AWAY OF KOSYGIN, AND THE AIDE (WHO WAS IN UNIFORM SPORTING THE DECORATIONS HE EARNED FOR FIGHTING THE RUSSIANS IN 1940) WAS ONE OF THE FINNS WHO HAD NOT FORGOTTEN THE WINTER WAR. OUR SOURCE ALSO NOTED THAT THE SWEDES WERE STILL THINKING THROUGH WHAT IT ALL MEANT, BUT THEY WERE QUITE SURE THAT KOSYGIN HAD BEHAVED IN A WAY THAT HAD NOT EARNED HIM ANY GOOD POINTS AMONG THE NORDICS. (INCIDENTALLY, ONE MFA SOURCE SAID HE HAD HEARD THAT AT THE RAILWAY STATION, UPON DEPARTURE, KOSYGIN HAD APOLOGIZED TO HIS FINNISH HOSTS FOR THE INCIDENT, BUT WE CANNOT VERIFY THIS STATEMENT.) KENNEDY-MINOTT

NOTE BY OC/T: STOCKHOLM 5259/2 NOT PASSED ADDRESSEE.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ACCOUNTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 15-Dec-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STOCKH05259
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770466-1150
Format: TEL
From: STOCKHOLM
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
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Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19771250/aaaabqfi.tel
Line Count: 223
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
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Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 STOCKHOLM 5207, 77 STOCKHOLM 5208
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 02-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 218126
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SWEDISH ACCOUNT OF KOSYGIN-NORDIC HELSINKI CONFRONTATION
TAGS: PINS, SW, UR, NO
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/d590e002-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009